

AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION
INTERVIEWS WITH
ELLIS BINKLEY, C.B. DUKE, IV, AND BEN BROWN

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
TRANSCRIBER - BETTY WILLIAMS
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JULY 15, 1975

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
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PLACE

Kingsport, Tennessee

DATE

July 15, 1975

Edis Binkley
(Interviewee)

Charles W. Crawford
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
of Memphis State University)

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PLACE Kingsport, Tennessee

DATE July 15, 1975

Ben M. Brown, Jr.
(Interviewee)

Charles W. Crawford
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
of Memphis State University)

THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY. THIS PROJECT IS "AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN CAMPAIGN AND ADMINISTRATION." THE DATE IS JULY 15, 1975 AND THE PLACE IS KINGS-PORT, TENNESSEE. THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. ELLIS BINKLEY AND MR. C. B. DUKE, IV. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY BETTY WILLIAMS. INTERVIEW #1.

DR. CRAWFORD: Gentlemen, I suggest that we get some biographical information about each of you.

So if we could get a brief statement we'll start the interview in that way. And going alphabetically let's get yours Mr. Binkley, and then we'll get yours, Mr. Duke.

MR. BINKLEY: Well, I'm a native of Robertson County, Tennessee. Springfield is the county seat which is 30 miles north of Nashville. After traveling around the United States with my family for quite a few years about in 1941 I came to Kingsport with the Kingsport Times News and stayed with the Kingsport Times News until about two or three years ago when I retired. During the period that I was there I was Executive Editor, City Editor and held every editorship job on the paper. The last 12 years I was confined strictly to politics as political editor. I still write a syndicated political column three days a week which appears in about 5 or 6 East Tennessee newspapers. I'm teaching journalism at East Tennessee State University. I still feel like I

am a newspaperman. I know I am a newspaperman and still know I like to play in politics--not as a participant but as an observer. That to me is where I first knew Winfield Dunn--as a political writer.

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you, Mr. Binkley. All right, Mr. Duke.

MR. DUKE: Well, I guess I can start everything by saying I am better known in Kingsport as Boots and it is a nickname. I was born in Kingsport and did all my elementary school education here and went through high school here. I got a B.A. degree from Vanderbilt University in 1957. Going back a ways, I was born on May 26, 1935 here in Kingsport. After I graduated from Vanderbilt, I started a small business in western Kentucky in Madisonville and I always felt like a misplaced Tennessean even when I was in Kentucky.

I moved back to Kingsport in 1959 and went into business with my father. I have been active in Jaycees which I would imagine lead me into a political involvement, first through an involvement with Jaycee politics where I held a number of local offices in the Jaycee chapter on up to including the president. During the course of that Jaycee involvement I had quite a few state involvements in Jaycees and during the course of that I met and became friends with Bill Brock and Howard Baker prior to their elections and public office. I knew those boys well. I am very much involved with the Miss Tennessee pageant thought that and have come to know a number of people across the state. The Jaycettes seem to be people that become politically active in that.

I am a Kingsport native. My commitment to Dunn, I guess was a result of the involvement I had had in Jaycees and the political contacts I made there and just a general interest that developed in politics.

DR. CRAWFORD: From this background, let's get to the point at which you first met Winfield Dunn and try to get your impressions and what you remember of it if we can do that in each case. Mr. Binkley, what do you remember about yours?

MR. BINKLEY: Well, in the winter before the primary there was a member of the legislature, a man named McNeil--I don't remember his first name.

DR. CRAWFORD: Jack.

MR. BINKLEY: Jack McNeil who came to my office one afternoon with a dentist from Memphis who wanted to run for governor. We sat there and chatted a few minutes. He was a Republican and he felt like he was in friendly territory in the First District which is a Republican district and we chatted awhile and I wished him good luck and he left and I sort of forgot about him. Well, a few weeks later he came back. We chatted some more and I began to like the man. He sort of started coming through. The next time I saw him he was sort of down. He was sort of dejected; he didn't think he was going to make the race. He had just about decided he was going to give it up.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember the time of these meetings,

the date?

MR. BINKLEY: I don't remember dates. When you get as old as I am--I didn't say it, but I was born in 1908--(Laughter) when you get as old as I am, dates come sort of hard. However, I think on second thought it was along about January, February, or March. Those first contacts were during the winter when people were going to run for governor, you usually start moving about the state to see what the prospects are, lining up an organization, lining up money and all the necessary things. That particular day he was a little low because things weren't quite as rosy as they had been being. Later--a week or ten days later--he was back in the office ready to go. Everything was go then because he had lined up his money and he was encouraged and from then on out he was all the way. I had a lot of contacts with him during the campaign as a political writer covering a campaign.

DR. CRAWFORD: What were your first reactions to him?

MR. BINKLEY: I liked the man. He came across good. He was warm, he was sincere and I felt like if he told you something, that's the way it was to be. That struck me mostly--what I was worried about mostly--at first that he was not a politician and didn't know a lot of the little political tricks. If he told you something, that is what he meant. He was almost naive I thought, but he picked up as he went along.

DR. CRAWFORD: What do you remember, Mr. Duke, of your first contact with Winfield Dunn.

MR. DUKE: Well, I think that probably the same day that he first came to see Ellis, he came by my office. At that time I was involved in city politics as Vice Mayor. Evidentially my name cropped up from that, plus being slightly involved in politics at that point. It was a cold call--he dropped into the office with Jack McNeil.

One of the funny commentaries that on the side, kind of, but the first impression that I had of both of them was that they were very impressive kind of people. But Jack McNeil stuck in my mind. I told my wife when I got home that night. I said, "This McNeil guy really rings a bell somewhere." A week later when they were back in Kingsport, they called me again and wanted to go to dinner again. As it turned out, Jack McNeil had been a law student at Vanderbilt and had roomed two doors from me on Dixon Court Apartments on 18th Avenue. While my wife and I were there, Jack and his wife were just two doors from us in the apartment. I was looking at Jack that night at supper and all of a sudden I realized who he was. I said, "I remember you from the Dempster-Dumpster because the only place we had that we met was dumping garbage."

I'd seen Jack there but I was very much impressed with Dunn from that early meeting. I had a prior commitment at that point to help support Bill Brock and when Winfield expressed his interest in running for governor in spite of the fact that he was unknown, and in spite of the fact that I realized in the back of my mind that he had a pretty poor chance probably at that point, I developed a pretty

strong personal bond to him. I told my wife that he had asked me if he did commit and did run if I would help him get elected. And I told him I would if I could take care of the responsibility that I had already committed to as far as Bill Brock was concerned.

Later when that did happen, I talked to Frank Gibson who was a personal friend and Frank agreed to handle the responsibilities that I had previously accepted in Brock's campaign and I was able to go ahead and make a strong commitment to Dunn which I did. I think Ben will remember this. I was so impressed with Dunn that I called Ben on the phone one day. I've always been a big fan of Ben's son and a fan of Ben's too. Ben had done a lot of things in Kingsport that I've been real proud of and respected him for. I called him one day at his job and Dunn was there. And this was probably the third time that I had seen Winfield. I just wanted Ben to meet him and I knew Ben probably had some prior commitment politically because he has always been active. I said I just want you to meet this man and talk to him and draw your own impressions and conclusions from the meeting. He agreed to meet me after work downtown about five o'clock, I think. He then brought his son, Ben, and I think young Ben influenced older Ben, but it was real interesting because Ben and Ben, Sr. and I are the ones who should have been in position to possibly be of some benefit to him. But because of Ben Jr.'s inquisitiveness and curiosity he focused an awful lot of his attention toward young Ben. That impressed me because you could almost see the humanitarian aspect of the man in that. Regardless of where

the real interest should have been, he was focusing his attention where the real interest was. Ben, Jr. then became a real hard worker for Winfield as did Ben, Sr.

I made a strong bond initially and had a strong commitment to him.

DR. CRAWFORD: What doubts did either of you have about his likelihood of being elected?

MR. BINKLEY: Well, I didn't feel flattered particularly when he came to see me early because any enterprising candidate is going to contact every newspaper in the state and I took it that he knew that he wasn't contacting Ellis Binkley especially but he was contacting the Kingsport Times News. Since I was a political writer naturally I talked to him. Later it became at first like "Winfield who?" Well that was sort of the attitude that I had but the more I was around the man and the more I would talk with him and the more I could see how he could get with people and how people liked him and he liked people. That's when I said like I said earlier, I think a lot of that came from his dental training--of putting people to ease while they were in the chair before he started working on them. I think that is a habit that he picked up of putting people at ease and [that] was one of the best assets he had during that campaign. No one is uncomfortable around Winfield Dunn because he comes across like a million dollars and he makes anyone feel at ease, I don't care who they are. Like I said earlier, I was impressed with his sincerity. He would get up and

make a speech and you could tell the man was not trying to impress people. He was trying to tell them what he would try to do if he was governor of Tennessee and he meant every word of it. It wasn't show and he was trying to get votes but he was trying to be honest about it. The more he went across the state, we'd see him gain strength in East Tennessee and lose strength in other areas we would see it come back. In East Tennessee in a Republican area, he was running in the primary and he was running against another East Tennessean--in fact, two East Tennesseans--but one very popular. This one man who was the most popular was not known across the state in a race where name recognition means a lot. He had been Speaker of the State House of Representatives, but a Speaker of the House is not a household word particularly. People at the same time knew him in East Tennessee. Dunn managed to overcome a lot of that up here. Of course, there were areas that he didn't carry, but in the general election, they went all out for him because they were sticking together.

MR. DUKE:

I had a lot of the same reservations. Like Binkley, I wasn't particularly impressed that they came to see me by the fact that that they came soon because I recognized early that they needed somebody to do some work and that was the only reason they were there. But as I said, I was impressed with the personal integrity. I was real concerned and expressed it several times to people involved in his campaign and to him personally that the people who were being attracted to him were not the people with the financial knowledge of the community and they weren't the

people with the political expertise. They were people like myself that had an awful lot of enthusiasm and not too much political savvy. That part of it bothered me and I recognized the fact that his name wasn't well-known. I recognized the fact that people that supposedly were politically alert in our area weren't particularly atuned to Winfield Dunn at that early point. I felt almost certainly that during the primary we wouldn't be able to give him the kind of exposure that we needed. I made the comment several times early in that campaign if enough people could meet him and know him, that he was a sure winner. But I had a lot of doubts about our ability to get Winfield exposed to the people in order to get him elected.

One comment that kind of summed and expressed a lot of things that some of us felt at that time was a comment by Dr. Harry McNeely out at Tennessee Eastman. We were fortunate enough and he was kind enough to allow us an interview out there. This was just about the time that he had announced in the primary and I thought he made an awful good talk before the executives out there and as we left the room, Dr. McNeely patted me on the shoulder as we went out and said, "That was a real fine gentleman and he seems to have the best interest of the state at heart. It is just a shame that a guy like that can't be governor." As it turned out, that statement was proven false, but I think that is the kind of feeling that some of us had that had a lot of enthusiasm for him that it wasn't any feeling of sureness that he was going to get the place. There was a lot of enthusiasm on our part to give it the best that we had to give him

a shot at it, but a little concern that he possibly wasn't politically aware enough and that we weren't good enough to run a campaign for him.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did either of you feel any doubts about his being a dentist or any doubts about his being from Shelby County?

MR. BINKLEY: No, I remembered that Buford Ellington was a farmer, that Jim McCord was a newspaper publisher, Andrew Johnson was a tailor, Preacher Brownlow was a preacher. I couldn't see why he couldn't a dentist? I mean, I think at that particular time, the people in Tennessee were a little bit fed up with politicians. It's kind of hard for me to say this because they were both very good personal friends of mine, but we had several years of leap frog government. I didn't find much fault with it, but a lot of people did. I think they were wanting a change.

They had a choice between this man in the primary or a man who had been a successful businessman, who had spent all his life in business and who retired and came across with the attitude that, "I don't have anything else to do now, so I'll be governor," speaking of Jarman.

Then of course Bill Jenkins who was a up and coming politician, and some others. And then here was a man who was not a politician. This man had been successful and what he was laying down to the people what he would do and how he would do it just sold the people. Now, of course, Shelby County had had nothing at all statewide since

Senator McKellar's death. They hadn't had a governor since back in the Patterson days which is about 90 years and Shelby County in West Tennessee were hungry for something. They had a chance to get something. And I think there party politics just disappeared! Later it was proven in the general election that the Democrats and Republicans all turned out.

I'll be perfectly frank. Two or three days before the primary I would not have bet a dime either way on Maxie Jarman or Winfield Dunn. But I had a feeling because political writers usually get a day or two before the election he was going to pull it off. In fact, I think I did a column on it and had some people to laugh about it.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did you develop that feeling?

MR. BINKLEY: For what I was hearing across the state in talking with other newsmen, talking with other people and I campaigned with them some, talked to other writers who were campaigning with them and not particularly the crowds they were attracting but who the people were--who were in the crowds. You don't necessarily judge a politician by--you could take a hill-billy band and fried chicken and get a thousand people, but you could also have another rally and not offer anything and have 25 people and sometimes those 25 people can do you more good than those 1000 people. I'd like to have a rally--if I could have Boots Duke, Ben Brown and a few other people I could name--they are the people who count. The other people are there for the show and the free food. They don't pay any attention to the candidate at all. And the candidate who

feeds them and entertains them before he speaks has lost them. Dunn did very little of that.

MR. DUKE: I think that's right. One thing you said in particular that you said, right there is the key to it--there are a lot of people that go to every rally--I felt like the people that came to Dunn's rallies were, as I said before, enthusiastic, committed kind of people. A lot of those people were changeover people. You mentioned why you get that feeling, we've both talked about it. In fact, I was tickled to death when you told me the article you were going to write that day, but there was a kind of a mood that started happening in the last week or so. People that had met Dunn and in the later stages when he was beginning to get more exposure started making commitments that were different from earlier commitments. You could almost kind of feel a little movement there. I got totally convinced three weeks before the primary that he was going to win that thing. In the early stages I had a lot of reservations, but about the last three weeks I had a pure old deep-seated feeling that somehow he was going to win that thing. People would come up and tell you that they were supporting him really meant it. They tug at your coattail to tell you how strongly they felt about him.

MR. BINKLEY: The thing I was worried about mostly was Middle Tennessee. Because Genesco has a plant in practically every town of any size in Middle Tennessee--some kind of a little plant--a shoe plant or something. And they have

thousands of people working for Genesco. I could see a lot of those people going for Maxie Jarman purely because they had worked for him and Jarman is a good man. His employees liked him and they would be loyal to him. I was worried about Middle Tennessee. I wasn't too worried about East Tennessee or West Tennessee particularly Shelby County, but I was worried about Middle Tennessee. You could take Middle Tennessee and it split and you are in trouble sometimes. I'ts not a big vote down there, but every vote counts and there's not a lot of Republicans in Middle Tennessee at that time. He was going to have to have Republican people in that primary instead of the Democratic primary. It was one of the best campaigns I've seen develop from scratch to build up to like it did.

DR. CRAWFORD: Sullivan County was very important because of the number of voters in this county and particularly because of the number of Republican voters. How did you handle the campaign in the county?

MR. DUKE: Well, it wasn't handled on any of the accepted principles and I guess the primary reason for it was--I am talking strictly about the Dunn portion of it--we just weren't in totally the party system up here. As you well know, the Republican party here is subservient to Congressman Jim Quillen and he's done an able and capable job, but their primary commitment is to Jimmy Quillen. It is understandable because he built it to the state that it is right now. It had been built before but he honed it to a fine edge. A lot of the people who were commit-

ted to Dunn at this point were kind of newcomers. I think there was some feeling or resentment within the established party ranks that some of us rank uninitiated newcomers were handling his campaign. The Republican organization generally speaking was pretty well committed and oriented towards Bill Jenkins' campaign. He was local.

What we had to do really is begin with a nucleus of kind of strays--people we had picked up here and there--that had some kind of personal commitment and felt strongly about Winfield and usually it was for personal reasons. I mean they liked the man or they were impressed by something he said. Basically, I think his nucleus was composed of people that were not super strong organization party type people. We did a lot of wrong things, but we felt like we offset a lot of the wrong things just by sheer effort and enthusiasm that we had. We just kept on knocking our head against the wall hoping it would do some good.

DR. CRAWFORD: Looking back on it, what wrong thing can you pick out. Say if you were doing it over, that you would not do again?

MR. DUKE: Well, probably the biggest thing that we did wrong was taking at face value some of the commitments that we had and probably that was our own political naievete. We didn't get out and wrap up some of the financial support like we should have. Because we accepted the fact that somebody told us they were going to give us a little financial support and kind of leaned back on our haunches waiting for it to come in.

That just didn't happen. We ended up having to get down and beard the bull to get our financial support. When Maxie Jarman announced and got strong in the area, a lot of these people left our camp so to speak. They had given us some indication that they were going to support us.

Then the second thing, I don't know if it ever could have happened or not because of the commitment to Jenkins, but I'm certain that we should have worked within the confines of the party to some greater degree. I still question whether we as a group would have been acceptable and in looking back and trying to reanalyze it-- I've done it a number of times--I wonder if Dunn could have ever gotten elected if he had followed that route in the First Congressional District. It would have been a good thing, but I don't think it would have been possible really. We were subjected to a lot of criticism for not having worked with the party so to speak, but if we had a commitment to Dunn, we had to pretty well divest ourself of that commitment if we were going to work within the party because the party was simply not going to work for Winfield Dunn. It got down to the point that literature being shipped into the area, they'd refuse the shipment and send it back. If one of us were not there to pick it up, the party would send it back.

I know I called Ben one time; I was going to be out of town and asked him to be sure and be at the bus station, because we couldn't afford to have it sent back.

MR. BINKLEY: Was that the primary or general election?

MR. DUKE: That was during the primary. It was while Bill Jenkins was still a candidate and you could kind of understand it because Bill was local and I am not being critical of anybody else, but those were some of the problems we had to overcome. I think Ben is probably as aware of them as anything because Ben was much more knowledgeable about the party organization in the First District than I was. I was a real political newcomer. I was naive enough to think that a real strong individual with personal commitment to the best interests of the state that had a working knowledge of how to manage things could make a good governor. A lot of political savvy people said, "That doesn't mean a hill of beans. He's got to be a politician first and all these other things second." I just didn't believe it and I think most of the people that worked for him didn't believe it. They were determined by golly that he was the right guy and somehow they were going to help him get elected.

DR. CRAWFORD: I think your problems were similar to some others in other First District counties.

MR. DUKE: Oh, I am including the whole First Congressional District because, you know, we compared notes back and forth. Everybody was encountering basically the same problem I was having. It wasn't unique. Again, I am not super critical because the man that had built that party to the degree it was and that organization to the degree it was had a commitment to another candidate. It made it pretty difficult and a

lot of the individuals that were in a position of power within the organization had similar commitments on a one-to-one basis. They weren't in a position to come out and help us.

I don't know if those people did it, but it got down to the point that we were putting up posters and going by an hour later and they were down. Ben's son put up 30 or 41 in one hour and then the next hour they were all gone. We were paying for them out of our pockets. It even got to be a wrangle over TV time and stuff.

I found out about a number of spots being open. Of course, our finances were pitiful compared to a lot of them. Just happened to run into the fact that there were so many TV spots at prime time area that were available and I didn't even know about the FCC ruling at that point that these kind of things had to be paid for in advance. I just told the guy we would take them. We had nothing close to \$2500 in the bank, you know, to cover it. He said, "Well, you know we can't make a contribution to a candidate, so we'll have to have a check to cover it." I had to run down there and write a personal check for that amount. I got him to promise that he wouldn't cash that check till he gave me a chance to cover it at the bank, because it wasn't good, it was on my own little personal account that I didn't have \$2500 in the bank. I started calling my friends and telling them to bail me out, you know. By the time he had to take that check to the bank I had covered it.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was this in the primary?

MR. DUKE: Yes, this was back in the primary.

MR. BINKLEY: I could see what Boots is talking about when I was talking a while ago. People who attend rallies and the people who don't. When you'd have a Dunn rally in the First District, some of the old-line Republicans were conspicuous by their absence. You would go into a county normally and have a Republican candidate at a rally and there would be certain people that you knew they were going to be there because they were part of the organization. Congressman Quillen, like we said, in a primary takes a neutral attitude, but he is still there. The way I detect who Jimmy Quillen is for in a primary is where his people show up and where they don't show up. I think Boots and Ben will agree with me on that too.

DR. CRAWFORD: You gathered then in the primary by appearances that Congressman Quillen was supporting Mr. Jenkins?

MR. BINKLEY: Right. That's what I got from a newspaper.

MR. DUKE: I think he tried to maintain a pretty neutral approach, but by the same token, the party group was committed to Jenkins--it was obvious. Whatever approach he took, these people still had that strong commitment and he was in those primary days he was kind to Dunn in a lot of respects, but I think he would have lost a lot of strength in the First District personally had he endorsed a West Tennessean as opposed to Bill Jenkins. From a political savvy standpoint I think Jim Quillen was in the only comfortable posture he could be in.

MR. BINKLEY: Let me qualify my previous statement just a little bit. Lots of times a politician doesn't know and can't be held responsible for what some of his other people do. In other words Jimmy probably wouldn't have objected if any of his people went to Dunn meetings, but they didn't. . . anyway this man was a West Tennessean and he's not in our family particularly so I just don't think I'll be there. And they didn't show up.

DR. CRAWFORD: Your problem was then that to really support Winfield Dunn effectively you had to work out side the regular party structure.

MR. DUKE: Yes sir.

DR. CRAWFORD: So you are going to get a criticism for that too.

MR. DUKE: Yes, and we did. We fell victim to a lot of criticism on that score.

MR. BINKLEY: But in the general election it was an entirely different story. I mean they all unlocked the Democrats. I guess because the Republicans haven't been there long enough, but they are learning to start fighting among themselves. But unlike a Democratic primary, after the primary the Republicans get together. The Democrats have a hard time getting together up until the Dunn election but now it might be a little different. They learned a lesson. Actually as far as the Democrats in Tennessee are concerned the best thing that happened to them was Winfield Dunn being elected governor. But now next year they still

can't make up their mind. They want to settle on a candidate to oppose Bill Brock but probably won't. There will probably be 10 or 12 people in that primary too.

DR. CRAWFORD: It seems to me the Democratic Party is weaker in organization and stronger in number.

MR. BINKLEY: Right.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, for the primary itself, how did you organize in Sullivan County and were you working Mr. Duke, in the whole congressional district or just in the county?

MR. DUKE: We had the most haphazard, loosest organization you've ever seen or imagined. Because it was made up primarily of people without any titles or a sense of responsibility so far as a given area was concerned. Mostly it was people that just simply had a commitment. So nobody was really running the show from an overall organized standpoint in the primary effectively. I am sure there were people that were supposedly doing that. It really and truly boiled down to a whole lot of people getting out and doing a lot of hard work with a lot of enthusiasm without any set plan or organization. We got out and tried everything we could think of. Sometimes there were some directions coming in. For instance we didn't really have any poll watchers or any people picking up people getting them to the polls back and forth and that kind of thing.

Even our financial arrangements were not super organized. I

took an awful lot of pains then to establish accounts so that there was an absolute accounting of every penny that came in and I still maintain those records. I've got them to this day that every penny that came into Dunn's campaign how it went out and when it went out.

We had a meeting at Ben's one night. This was late in the primary and there was just no money coming to us. Everybody kind of got out and started rehustling and scratched up some of the money that we had to have at that point. There wasn't anything that said that I was officially chairman up here and so and so reported to me and this that and the other. We would just kind of get together informally and we'd try to make contacts with all the groups we could. We'd try to set up, and I did coordinate most of that, we'd try to get him before as many people as we could in the primary.

We were always pressuring for his time up in East Tennessee. We were back to that same thing that we mentioned earlier that we felt shortchanged on the amount of time that he was getting in East Tennessee. Of course, when we realized that there were 95 other counties, we probably were doing extremely well, because I think he was here more than the last governor had been in his previous four years of his administration in the last month of that primary campaign. We still felt slighted. All of us that were real committed realized the best thing we had to sell was the product and it wasn't our sales ability. The best chance we had of getting him elected was to expose him to the most people we could expose him to.

I think when you boil the whole campaign down in the primary,

that's really and truly what it boiled down to was getting Winfield Dunn personally on one-to-one to as many people as you could. When that didn't work, get him in front of one to whatever number. I felt like every exposure that we got, gained considerable ground. I think everybody else felt the same way. It's just the case of a poor salesman having a h--- of a good product to sell.

DR. CRAWFORD: Whatever your title, it is fair to characterize your work here as County Chairman or County Coordinator? Is that essentially the work that you did?

MR. DUKE: That is basically what it boiled down to. I guess I was the first person up here that made a commitment so maybe I fell heir to that title. (Laughter)

DR. CRAWFORD: Was there a chairman or coordinator for the First Congressional District or was someone doing that work?

MR. DUKE: I heard from Dale Young. This is some time later. Dale was, more or less, coordinator, but there really never was. My involvement over the last three or four counties on a lot of occasions was sometimes more than that. I think others did the same way.

DR. CRAWFORD: Where was Dale Young's home?

MR. DUKE: Maryville, Tennessee.

DR. CRAWFORD: That's in the Second District though?

MR. DUKE: Yes, but Dale kind of acted as Coordinator in the First District too. There again I

think Dale was the same kind of case. Dale just had a bubbling over kind of enthusiasm for Dunn and he was helping him where he thought he could.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you have a separate finance chairman for the county or for other counties or the district?

MR. DUKE: Ben, when did you start handling the finances on that? Was it in the primary?

MR. BROWN: Latter part of the primary.

MR. DUKE: I think that happened very very late, but that's when we started getting some money.

I think Winfield and Betty were both there at your home that night and Dan Maddux was there and Bill Rachels from Memphis. We had operated on the premise at that point that whatever came into the general fund to the organization was going to be more or less split up. I think at that point our share was zero. So we just tore out of there that night just buttonholing and calling everybody that we could get a pigeonhole on. We took it back upon ourselves to do the job that we had to do. We had kind of neglected it at that point, thinking we were operating more or less within the established procedures of the organization. But it wasn't working from our standpoint.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you prepare your list of contributors?

MR. DUKE: Ben, Frank, myself and probably some others, but that was the three that were basically

involved. We would get together by phone or get together and try to think of everybody that might be willing to give us some kind of support. If they had indicated any enthusiasm at all one of us button-holed them. We had some others that helped in that, but we had a pretty concerted effort one time where we picked about 10 or 12 people who indicated some enthusiasm and tried to get them to go out and round up some help for us. That really didn't work. It got back in our area to the three of us personally contacting.

DR. CRAWFORD: You did not have a separate finance committee then?

MR. DUKE: We established a bank account at Ben's bank and the other principal bank in Kingsport.

We were real careful about the handling of that account and the draws off of it and everything. Besides the deposit slips, I kept a separate private record of every penny that came in and how it was expended even down to 15¢ postage if it were paid for by somebody other than the three of us.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you finish the primary in the black?

MR. DUKE: We finished the primary with all of our bills paid that were created up here. Some money went to Nashville, but so you would have to say it was in the black. But everything we got in, we plowed back pretty dern quick. It was almost a day to day thing. We'd get a phone call that did we have anything in the bank and if so, how much and what did we have planned-- how many ads had we bought? There wasn't even any statewide coordi-

nation on the ads in the newspaper. If we wanted to buy an ad, we rounded up some change and bought an ad. They helped us put in what was going to be put in, but that's about the way it was being done. Then they did run some that were statewide too, but a lot of it we did on our own--free lance.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember approximately what you spent in the primary?

MR. DUKE: Not exactly, but I'd say it was in the neighborhood of \$4,000. We had about \$2500 bill at one of the TV stations that we got paid. That's out-of-pocket money. As far as in-time contributions and stuff like that there's no telling. I know Frank Gibson paid for teas and things that we hosted out of his own pocket. Ben did on several occasions and I did. There were others in Kingsport that hosted the Dunns at various things. They all carried that out at out-of-pocket expense. Even after the primary in the general election at one of the receptions up here that we felt that the party should have picked up the tabs for, it all of a sudden showed back up on my desk. Nobody wanted to accept the responsibility for it. We paid that--I think Frank and I together paid that.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe Ward Archer in Memphis at this time was doing the advertising. Did you get the film for television and the material for ads from them?

MR. DUKE: That's right. In fact, when I found out that these spots were available and bought

them, I told them I had them and how we could use them. Somebody got some stuff right up there to us. In fact, it came on the bus as I recall and had to be picked up on Saturday morning. We got it right on.

The next day after we had locked up those spots, one of Jarman's people called and was real upset and wanted half of them. They said we hadn't been fair because they never hit the market and that we bought them up before they were ever announced to any of the other candidates. That made me want them worse, you know. So we just hung on for dear life and got those things aired. That was a catchy commercial too. It had that little Memphis Delta ditty. I thought about the time those ads started coming out, I felt like that there was a change in the mood of the voters. I was probably too close to it to see too well, cause I was looking at it with my own colored glasses, but I thought at that point I could feel a real pickup in his campaign. The name recognition had finally come across. People were knowing who he was and people were saying, "I believe he's got a chance." The others were telling me that they had decided they were going to support him. This was about three weeks prior to the election. About that time I developed a heck of a good feeling about it.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who did you handle the coordination with in Memphis? Who did you talk to most of the time? I know they were handling it from there during the primary.

MR. DUKE: I tried to think of that last night. Ben,

do you remember. It seems to me that fellow was a judge.

MR. BROWN: I don't remember if Harry Wellford was involved at that time or not.

DR. CRAWFORD: Harry Wellford was involved in the primary, but he was not appointed a judge until later.

MR. DUKE: That's right.

MR. BROWN: Our coordination was through Dale Young as I recall.

DR. CRAWFORD: Very well, at the time of the primary election in August, were all of you here or did you go to Nashville?

MR. BROWN: I was here.

MR. DUKE: I was here and in fact, I'd been to Washington over that week-end. Governor Dunn called me--well, Winfield Dunn called me on Sunday afternoon as I had gotten in from Washington. He said that he had access to a plane and was coming up that night. He came up and spent a couple of hours that night. Then we stayed in Kingsport the night of the election. That was on Thursday night as I recall--the night of the primary. We had all of our little sheets down there. I bought a passel of cheese and stuff in anticipation of a victory celebration that night and I think everybody rolled in there at my house later that evening. We did have a pretty good shindig!

DR. CRAWFORD: Was the county headquarters at your house?

MR. DUKE: No.

MR. BROWN: We had a county headquarters down in the old Earl's Building. Young Ben and I went down there. We watched the returns and there was a considerable amount of gloom and doom as they came in. Finally the Memphis returns came in and then we let out a war hoop and said, "DUNN HAS MADE IT." It wasn't so much jubilation at that particular spot because they were of course, committed to the county organization which was committed to Mr. Jenkins.

MR. DUKE: Yeah, I misunderstood your question. This was the county Republican offices and as I mentioned earlier, most of the strong Dunn people just didn't feel like they could let their enthusiasm show there on that night. So a lot of us weren't down there. (Laughter) Because we were going to be sorry losers and too good a winner.

MR. BINKLEY: Of course, I would never go out of town on an election night because I was too busy tabulating votes, but after the election was over and the results were finally known people would start calling in. "Who won?" Then the reaction we would get then when Dunn was nominated. It got to where as the evening drew on, people on the other end of the phone seemed to be pleased. There were a few disappointed, but most of them were pleased. I remember that most of the calls that night concerned the Republican primary rather than the Democratic primary because everybody pretty well knew what was going to happen over

there.

I'd been thinking while Boots was talking, during that campaign you were having the same old stuff--for the lack of a better word--going on over at the Democratic primary. Over at the Republican primary, there was something refreshing and new and something different and I think it was attracting a lot of attention because it wasn't a rehash of what they had been hearing year in and year out. There was something different to this man who popped in here from the Mississippi Delta (Laughter) all the way to Mountain City up here and giving them something that was fresh and something new, sincere. People thought this man was telling the truth and he was going to do a good job and we believed he was going to do a good job. On the telephone that night you could sort of feel that reaction. People would say, "Good!" or "I'm glad!"

MR. DUKE: One of the first people that showed up at the house that night was a friend of mine and I introduced him to Winfield on several occasions and I introduced him to the Jaycees where (this man) was president. He came in that night and he had been listening on the car radio to the returns he showed up. He said, "Well, you caused my wife and I to lose our vote." He said, "That guy hasn't got a chance!" I had all my sheets down there piddling and working on them. Somebody had availed themselves of Bill Brock's computer and we had some projections--Campbell County, district by district, all the way down the line. According to the figures and returns I had, we were running just slightly ahead of

what we thought it was going to take to get the job done.

Of course the Memphis returns and Shelby County and down in that area were not in yet. I told him then. I said, "You know what? I said, "I know for a fact now that Dunn has made it!" He was running third or fourth. Aw, he pooh-poohed it. I was kind of hoping more than I was believing, I guess, at that point, but I had really hoped we would come out of East Tennessee a lot stronger than we had showed them thus far. I was skeptical that Memphis could come through as strong as they did in the Shelby County area. We'd been told time and again that they were going to deliver. They sure enough did and when it came through, it was. . . we knew then the thing was written on the tablets.

There was that period of let down there at first when you didn't come out of your own area just as strong as you hoped you might.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember anything about vote totals in Sullivan County or the First Congressional District?

MR. DUKE: No, Ben might. I've got a figure in my mind, I'm so unsure of it I'm afraid to quote it.

MR. BROWN: I've got them in my desk at the office.

MR. BINKLEY: How many counties did he carry in the First District? He didn't carry Washington County, I know that.

MR. BROWN: Was this in the primary?

MR. BINKLEY: Primary.

MR. DUKE: In the back of my mind I'm thinking 1580 votes or something in this county.

DR. CRAWFORD: What figure?

MR. DUKE: I'm thinking it was 1500 and something votes-- real small, and that might not even be in the ball park, but somehow that figure sticks in my mind.

MR. BROWN: He definitely carried the county. He did. But you realize Charles, that Sullivan County is the only Democratic County in the First Congressional District so any campaign you start out with that. Not only did he carry in the primary but he carried it in the general election.

MR. BINKLEY: He carried the First District in the general election.

MR. BROWN: Oh yeah.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now let's see if I understand this. In the primary he carried it in [with] the Republican candidates.

MR. BROWN: Uh-huh.

DR. CRAWFORD: But did he get more than Hooker?

MR. BROWN: No.

MR. DUKE: No, in the first place Hooker didn't have the strong opposition that Dunn did. He would have had a more concentrated Democratic vote than any Republican candidate would have in terms of pure concentration. Because I think it was pretty true that in this area there were three candidates

that were considered to be toss-up candidates. I'm not talking about statewide; I'm talking about this county and possibly this whole district. Jarman, Dunn and Jenkins in the late days of the primary were pretty well toss-up candidates as far as most people were concerned. You could take a straw vote around town and it would be equally divided among those three as to who was going to win in Sullivan County.



THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY. THIS PROJECT IS "AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN CAMPAIGN AND ADMINISTRATION." THE DATE IS JULY 15, 1975 AND THE PLACE IS KINGSPORT, TENNESSEE. THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. ELLIS BINKLEY AND MR. C. B. DUKE, IV AND BEN M. BROWN, JR. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY BETTY WILLIAMS. INTERVIEW #II.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now, we'll get next to the general election. Mr. Brown, since we have no biographical information from you on the tape of the first interview, how about a short statement of background biography, perhaps beginning with where and when you were born and anything you want to say about your family, your education and your experience up until you became associated with Winfield Dunn.

MR. BROWN: Well, I was born in Kingsport in 1924 and have lived here all my life. I attended Washington and Lee University and graduated from that school. I spent my time in the service along with many others. I am associated with the First National Bank of Sullivan County as trust officer. I've been interested in politics since my father was the county chairman here in Sullivan County many many years ago. I used to go around with him as a young boy. Incidentally, that has been Republican politics for the most part. That's about all.

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you Ben. Let's get on to the general election. Of course, after the primary you had a different situation, for you had a winning candidate in the primary. You had to face a race against a Democratic contender. What changes did you make?

MR. DUKE: There were numerous changes from that point. Probably primary and most significant was the fact that we then became the candidate of choice of the Republican party in the First Congressional District and most particularly in Sullivan County, as far as we were concerned that entitled us to the support of the organization as it was established at that point. There were quite a few people that had not been super active or even active at all in the general Republican functions of the county. By commitment to Dunn they then became involved with that organization's activities. The campaign took on a completely different complexion locally from that aspect primarily.

The same people carried the same degree of responsibility that they had in the primary, but it was noticeable from a statewide level that we were now working under an organized campaign. It was funded and being more or less properly managed. It was still the case Dunn by his own nature had associated himself more with people who had that strong personal commitment for him again than the so-called expert politicians of the state. I'm not sure that there were a lot of expert politicians in the state as far as the Republicans were con-

cerned at that point because we hadn't held that kind of office in 60 years or so.

Lamar Alexander was pulled in. There were a number of people that were put in key positions then. It was a real obvious establishment of lines of priority-command more or less. We came away from that free lance super enthusiasm to a kind of organized super enthusiasm. Still looking back on it now, I realize that campaign was not the same kind of campaign that might have been mounted by the Democrats for instance who had a lot of real polished political experts involved in their campaign. It was still a bunch of young people that didn't know all together all that they were doing as far as state politics were concerned.

Watching other presidential elections I can see now too that it paralleled a lot of the candidates of Dunn's type--the fresh-look type candidate. I think generally that would sum up the two principal differences from primary to general election. Ben was very much involved and of course, Ellis was always close to us. In spite of his reputed allegiance to the Democratic Party, I leaned on him a lot for advice as to which direction to go. I leaned on Ben a lot because of his past political connections, knowledge in that field.

There's still a lot done on a local level, but it was a lot more coordinated. There weren't any real super experts in the whole structure of the thing.

DR. CRAWFORD:

[What] other reactions, Mr. Binkley. How

did it look to you--the change from the primary to the general election?

MR. BINKLEY: They began to get going and to get together. Also the thing that impressed me was watching both sides. John J. Hooker--I wrote this in a column the other day--could go into an election with 250,000 known votes but then he would have 25,000 anti-votes. He was the type of man that four years earlier had turned a lot of people off and they were still turned off. They didn't have any place to go. Here was an attractive young fresh--young in politics I mean--candidate whom they had been watching over in the Republican primary. They could associate themselves with this type of man very easily because he thought the same way they were thinking. That's when they thought, "Well, here's one time I am not going to support the ticket." I think some of them did go in the election and would vote for Gore and also vote for Dunn. I don't think they were voting straight tickets, don't you Boots?

MR. DUKE: Right! I totally agree. In fact, I think Dunn's campaign was a one on one, person to person type campaign. And I think Hooker was saying, "I am a Democrat, and you're pledged to support me." The whole mood of the country was not that way at that time, particularly in Tennessee.

MR. BINKLEY: Also the financial troubles Hooker was having was rubbing off on Dunn to Dunn's benefit. I'll say this: As many speeches as I heard him make, as many

people as I saw him talk with, and in press conferences particularly, people were trying to get him to say something about John J. Hooker's financial troubles. And never, never--I mean questions asked about that he would have no comment--because he did not take advantage of the man's misfortune or mishandling of whatever it was.

MR. DUKE: I heard somebody say one time that was Dunn's personality contrasted with Hooker's integrity. There was a lot of that feeling. People had a good fresh appeal as far as Dunn was concerned and there was a certain tainting as far as John J. Hooker was concerned. He was a political animal; Dunn was a personable person. There was a marked contrast there.

MR. BINKLEY: Unlike the primary, three weeks before the election, I just almost knew that Dunn was going to beat Hooker. It wasn't a surprise to me at all. I mean I am one of the Democrats who couldn't go for John J. and he knows it. I mean it is not something I mind saying.

MR. BROWN: Some of your friends say that you are a Republican now.

MR. BINKLEY: That's what I said earlier. Some of my friends do say that I am Republican.

DR. CRAWFORD: Has your feeling usually been right about the outcome of elections?

MR. BINKLEY: Well, I have been known to be wrong.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the financial aspects of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the budget, including the projected income and expenses for the upcoming year. This section also discusses the various financial risks and how they can be mitigated, ensuring that the organization remains financially stable and secure.

3. The third part of the document addresses the human resources of the organization. It discusses the current staffing levels and the need for additional personnel in certain areas. This section also outlines the various training and development programs that are being implemented to ensure that the staff is equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to perform their duties effectively.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the legal and regulatory aspects of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the various laws and regulations that apply to the organization's operations. This section also discusses the various legal risks and how they can be managed, ensuring that the organization remains in full compliance with all applicable laws and regulations.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the marketing and sales aspects of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the various marketing strategies that are being implemented to increase the organization's visibility and reach. This section also discusses the various sales techniques and how they can be used to generate revenue for the organization.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the overall performance of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the various key performance indicators (KPIs) that are being used to measure the organization's success. This section also discusses the various challenges that the organization is facing and how they can be overcome, ensuring that the organization remains on track to achieve its goals and objectives.

MR. DUKE: I'll answer that. I think Ben and I can say for him better than he can say for himself that Ellis is a pretty astute assessor of the political field.

MR. BROWN: Yes.

MR. BINKLEY: However, I did write one time after following him for six weeks, I did say, when I was covering for our paper and about three other papers in the Tip Taylor-Kefauver campaign, "I didn't get carried away and say that Taylor was going to cross the Tennessee River with 150,000 votes. They must have gotten sunk because they never did get across." (Laughter) I've been a little bit cautious ever since then. But I felt sure on Dunn the night before the election. I just flat out and said the man was going to be elected cause I knew he was going to be elected! I do think like Boots said. He liked to conduct his own campaign. He was at his best when he was by himself. When he was campaigning with Bill Brock and Jimmy Quillen, and every time he came into the First District, Jimmy was with him, he was better alone than he was with them. If it could have been worked out where he could stay or been by himself, but obviously when you are running a ticket, the ticket has to make a public appearance together--that's obvious I mean.

MR. DUKE: I think one thing that is kind of evidence of what you were saying is that he actually

led the ticket as far as Republican vote was concerned.

MR. BINKLEY: Yes.

MR. DUKE: That had to mean that his own personal appeal was transcending party politics so to speak. That's pretty unusual when you get up in this neck of the woods.

MR. BINKLEY: Another thing, at a rally when all three candidates would appear--of course, any political rally--95% of the people there are your people anyway. You may get a few stragglers or on the fence people but most of them are your people. When you take these three candidates, I remember one night down at Greeneville when all three of them were there. They would all be introduced and make speeches, but Winfield would get the most applause and the greatest response than the other two would. Of course, Brock had opposition from an incumbent. He had tough opposition. Jimmy didn't particularly have or wasn't opposed that year. Of course, Jimmy always wanted these polls to be the vote getter. He would work just as hard without opposition as he would with opposition. But at the same time you could see the people sitting out in the audience respond to Winfield Dunn a lot more than they were to Brock or Quillen either one.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why do you think they respond more to him, Mr. Binkley?

MR. BINKLEY: Like we have said earlier, his personality,

his integrity, his warmth. People just liked Winfield Dunn.

DR. CRAWFORD: And you feel that was true in large groups as well as in meeting with single people?

MR. BINKLEY: I think so--yes. When he got up to . . . Winfield Dunn was humble. He would get up and sort of feel like and you would get the impression now that: Here is a man who is running for governor, he is not a politician. He did innocently what Estes Kefauver did on purpose. Estes Kefauver gave you the impression that he wasn't a politician and he would get up and stammer. Winfield wouldn't stammer, but he would fumble around and Kefauver would have to give the impression that what he was saying was spontaneous when it was well rehearsed. But Dunn would actually get to make a speech and something would come to mind and he would say it. You ought to have a prepared speech and try to follow it. If Winfield saw somebody out in the audience or saw something that brought an issue to mind he would go on and you had to start taking notes real quick. But he just projected himself to the people to where they just sort of took him into their hearts you might say without getting sentimental about it.

MR. DUKE: I think timing was pretty important to him too. If you kind of believe in that kind of thing, it seemed like he happened along at a very opportune time from his standpoint. In the first place, the nucleus of the Republican

Party was historically in East Tennessee, but you weren't going to elect a governor in East Tennessee. You needed somebody from out of West Tennessee that could develop both a party commitment plus a personal enthusiasm for an individual that would carry across that party line because you had to get some Democratic support there. The figures, just plain and simple, were not on the books unless you coupled some factors. That meant a candidate that had appeal. I think Winfield was the right kind of guy and came along at the right time from the right place. Because East Tennessee was anxious for a Republican candidate no matter who it had been.

That was my problem with Bill Jenkins. I didn't think you could sell Bill Jenkins in Memphis and get the kind of support we needed in Shelby County and all of West Tennessee, or possibly even in Middle Tennessee to get the man in there. But I think timing was real critical on what the people were looking as well for a candidate that wasn't strictly a line to a political career. They were looking for somebody that they could relate to.

I think even before the Nixon-Watergate kind of thing there was already a gnawing disenchantment with a purely political animal which John J. Hooker represented to a lot of people. His business integrity was already subject to some question, his personal motives for wanting the governor's seat were in question by some people. By contrast here came a guy that was giving up a successful profession, he didn't have anything to gain particularly that anybody could see

except the honest things that would accrue to a guy that was governor of the state. There wasn't any reasons to question his motives for seeking office and he looked fresh and there was a big youthful voter group out moving about at that time. I think too and Bink will probably bear me out, and Ben too, that there seems to be less control by the old political systems on both sides of the line than there has been in the past. People weren't listening to somebody that told them how to vote. They are making up their own minds. I think timing was so critical.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Brown, what changes did you notice
 from the primary to the general election?

MR. BROWN: Well, there was a lot more interest both
 from people who wanted to see Winfield
Dunn then and wanted to see his wife and also there was a distinct
change in the financial support that the campaign received. I believe that it was very definitely a team effort on the part of the Governor and Betty. I remember very distinctly an appearance that Betty made by herself at the Republican Headquarters here in Kingsport and there were a large number of people that turned out to see Betty Dunn. My wife was one of them and she is certainly not a political animal and is not interested in it at all and from a very strong Democratic family that I have had to live with. Betty Dunn probably initially converted Ketty's vote right off to the family as far as a family effort is concerned.

Another thing I want to relate: Boots mentioned young people. We have referred to my young son's efforts in this thing. I was in New York the last three weeks of the campaign. I called home and Ben had been traveling along with a lot of other young people on the campaign bus. This was the week-end of the Alabama-Tennessee game. They had the game on the radio on the bus and all of the young people were sitting in the back. Ben said that Dr. Dunn came back to the back and one or two of them got up for him to sit down and he said, "Oh, no, keep your seat." He sat down in the aisle and listened to the game. For a young person that very act of his impressed them tremendously. These young people do have some influence on their families as far as votes are concerned.

MR. DUKE: Ben, you mentioned, and I know you didn't mean it in that context, but you said an "act of his." The thing that impressed those young people and I am firmly convinced that you don't fool young people nearly as easily as you fool the older generation. In Winfield's case, I didn't feel like it was an act and I sincerely don't think that it was in any of the things that he did. That was just him. That was the way he did. He would sit down on that bed right there and engage himself in a conversation with a group of people and probably the least influential person in that group might attract his attention and that would be who he would be talking to.

I've certainly not been around an awful lot of politicians but

I've been around enough to notice that generally they focus their attention where they feel like it is going to do them the most good. Winfield was just not that way. He would develop this one-to-one rapport with an individual and they would develop an almost fanatical commitment to him personally. It was beyond and above any party ties that they had had previously. In the case of Ben's wife for instance, if anybody would have told Ben Brown that his wife was going to be entertaining the future Republican governor of this state in her own home, I don't think 10 people in Kingsport would have believed it.

MR. BROWN: Blicka's mother probably turned over in her grave!

MR. DUKE: By the same token those people would not have believed that Ellis has had a reputation for fairness in politics in his treatment of all candidates, but there are very few people that would have believed that Ellis Binkley would have developed a personal relationship with the future Republican governor like he did. It was just that personal rapport that he was able to develop. I think that because the genuineness of it that he really really got to a lot of people.

MR. BROWN: I think it is true with him, but I also think it is true with his wife. I've heard the comments so many times that any time anybody met either one of them or were around them, the comment was: "I really feel good having met them." They just left that kind of a reaction. You were

really refreshed having talked to them or having seen them or whatever it might be.

MR. DUKE: Well, you always got the feeling that whatever Winfield felt was best, Betty felt that he had arrived at that conclusion with all his best faculties and he was totally committed to it. She'd work for him and she had her own stature and poise and she had a super winning way with women and with men. If you had handpicked a running mate, so to speak, you couldn't have done better so far as East Tennessee was concerned.

MR. BROWN: Sincerity came through on the whole thing on the part of both of them.

MR. BINKLEY: Since Ben mentioned our Katy reacted to Betty, my wife, both Ben and Boots knows that my wife goes out very seldom and politicians do not a thing for her--she avoids them, but the first time she met Winfield and Betty Dunn, and particularly Betty, she went all out for her. And I don't know a single invitation that we had that Betty Dunn was going to be present that my wife was not there, even to the fact of taking Betty to Bay's Mountain for a whole day because she wanted to go up there. One thing I do want to inject that you mentioned about a East Tennessee support for a West Tennessean for governor. It has been discussed lots of times and never become an issue but just quietly discussed around through East Tennessee that East and West Tennessee could elect anybody they wanted for governor. East and West Tennessee

have gotten so tired of Middle Tennessee domination of that corner office in the capitol. There was a feeling up here that if we elect a West Tennessean that maybe four years from now we can get West Tennessee to help us elect an East Tennessean. Well, it was tried, but it didn't work!

MR. BROWN: Well, it was mainly because of the reaction of Watergate.

MR. BINKLEY: Well, of course it was, but what I meant was maybe it will work. Instead we elected another West Tennessean. They elected another West Tennessean. (Laughter)

MR. BROWN: It's all coming out now. (Laughter)

MR. BINKLEY: Four years ago at that particular election the Democrats voted for a Republican who would have never dreamed of voting Republican.

MR. BROWN: Well, there was the contrast between the two candidates. Then after the election I mean there was a real desire on the part of a tremendous number of people to see them.

MR. DUKE: I think Ben and I shared the same kind of feeling. I think both of us felt even during the primary if we could pull the primary thing off or if Winfield could, he was going to win the general election regardless of the Democratic nod. I had the upmost confidence from 11 O'clock that

night forward. I knew Winfield Dunn was going to be the next governor in my own mind. I was totally convinced. If I had been a real bettor I would bet any amount that he was going to make it. Because I was so convinced that all we needed was the exposure. I knew now we were going to get it because it was a 50-50 race. I knew the money was there in the general coffers that hadn't been there in the primary. I was just totally convinced and Ben was too. And Frank felt the same way too. Frank was close to this thing through this period.

MR. BROWN: I'll inject this thing right here that the first time I ever saw Winfield Dunn was at Ridgefield Country Club when I was introducing Maxey Jarman with his broken arm. Dunn was there as a guest. After the proceedings were over with, while Mr. Jarman stayed up at the head table and waited for the few to come up to speak to him, Winfield was standing by the door greeting everybody as they went out. The contrast was noticeable. We've talked about that earlier before we got on tape that one of the things was that occurrence.

MR. DUKE: The particular reaction--that Winfield had to that thing--he was very apologetic about having broken in on Maxey's show so to speak.

MR. BROWN: Well, he was invited as a guest.

MR. DUKE: It kind of upset him that the tables turned on Maxey, but he showed a sensitivity that I think is indicative of the kind of governor that he made later.

MR. BINKLEY: But Ben was talking about him standing at the door greeting people as they left.

Actually he was trying to get out of the room and when he got to the door people stopped him and he just couldn't move because people just kept coming by. Do you remember that day?

MR. BROWN: I hadn't even met him. I do think I shook his hand and that was all.

MR. BINKLEY: He was trying to get out of Maxey's show. I mean he was trying to get out of the room, but he couldn't get out of the room.

DR. CRAWFORD: I've been asking why he got the support he did, and you've come up with the fact that he liked people and that Betty Dunn was very attractive too. But is there another factor. He evidently had what is now called charisma, but is there anything else? Was he a good public speaker? Did he seem to try harder than other people? What else was involved?

MR. BROWN: Well, he certainly promised East Tennessee, and I think you could say this was a campaign commitment on his part which he did fulfill entirely, that he would do something about the highway situation up here. As you know, East Tennessee has been called the step-child of the state and our interstate system was not completed. And at the beginning of his term he said that it would be completed. I am talking about Interstate 81 and it was completed. He very definitely made a commitment

along that line because he had to travel the roads up here. He knew what they were like! And he got something done on it. He certainly fulfilled his commitment to the people of East Tennessee as far as highway construction was concerned.

DR. CRAWFORD: What other civic commitments did he make
for East Tennessee?

MR. BROWN: As I recall, that was really the main
commitment.

MR. BINKLEY: Well, one of his commitments was on high-
ways. This was I-81 and 11-W which became
known as "Bloody 11-W". He said during his administration part of
the road. . . They had started a four-lane during the previous admin-
istration and during his (Dunn) it was extended and contracts were
let during his administration which are being fulfilled right now ex-
tending that four-lane all the way to Rogersville. And road construc-
tion is underway right now and when time comes for it to be opened
the present Governor will probably be there for the ribbon cutting and
take credit for it but it was let during the Winfield Dunn administra-
tion.

MR. BROWN: This was the area of industrial development
in this part of the state.

MR. BINKLEY: There's another thing too. People must re-
member that Winfield Dunn completed a lot
of highway projects across this state and a lot of state parks and a

MR. DUKE: That's why I feel like four years down the road things are going to look different to a lot of people who felt like Dunn's four years service weren't all that they had anticipated. Talking about those things that got him elected, I may have mentioned a couple of them, but to me more important than any specific promises that he made was just the general feeling of the high degree of integrity that he conveyed to the voters. I think there was a feeling about that time and it is still with us today--there is not a lot of strong feeling that a politician as such is a man that can be totally trusted. I felt like that people that committed to Dunn were people that felt like that he was the man in Tennessee that had the most interest of all the candidates in doing exactly what he thought was right for Tennessee and that he was dealing honestly with them when he said it. A

lot of people talked about that as being an intangible. But people make their own assessments of what programs are most valuable to them, most people have got the same kind of feeling for whether a man is straightforward, honest and has integrity whether he is a man that they have a trust for. To me those qualities in Dunn were on the surface and they were apparent to the individual. I think that is what put him across when the other candidates couldn't get it across.

MR. BINKLEY: You remember Ben has talked about the promise on roads. As far as I know that was the only promise that he made too. That man didn't go around the state making a lot of promises. The only promises he made were the ones he knew.

MR. DUKE: In fact, the Jaycees are notorious here for throwing loaded questions at a candidate.

MR. BINKLEY: You better believe it!

MR. DUKE: Or anybody else as a speaker. One of the rules they have out there is that you don't speak to that club unless you are open to questions and answers at the end of that question and answer period. The thing that I was most impressed with was the number of people that came up to me after that thing and admitted their strong impression of Dunn because he simply said he didn't know in cases where he didn't know or he told them it was out of his control. I think there have been promises

made in this last election where people made commitments that a knowledgeable voter would have known that there was no way that they could have kept themselves because it wasn't in their authority to keep it. Dunn didn't mislead people. I think that came across fresh and came across real honest. You can relate more to a man who doesn't have all the answers than you can to a guy that can pop them off the top of his head to everything.

MR. BINKLEY: Winfield Dunn was criticized several times by John J. Hooker and accusing him from time to time saying he hasn't even read the State Constitution. Well, Winfield Dunn was smart enough to know that he could not make a single commitment that required money unless the legislature approved it. You see the Legislature makes the money available. The governor can't spend it unless the Legislature gives it to him. Here was another man promising everything in the world when it all depended upon the Legislature. We said before we started taping, that Winfield Dunn proved that he knew what he was doing and the way he handled the Legislature in the fact that he got more of his program. Actually Dunn got most of his program approved by the Legislature both years.

MR. DUKE: He sure did.

MR. BINKLEY: Both legislatures. Simply because he used the same tactics he used when he was running of being forthright, honest, above-board and talking to the opposition as well as people with him.

MR. BROWN: That's right. He would deal with all of the elements and that is something that isn't being done now.

MR. DUKE: Well, I think the real crux of that is nowhere in his services gathered did he lose sight of the fact that he had to work for the best interests of the state as a whole. That's a message that has got to come across whether you are a Democrat or a Republican. If you don't buy it, you can't sell yourself when you get home.

MR. BINKLEY: If you stop to realize and if you study them, all of those vetos were overridden most of those bills which he had opposed to start with and were money bills and he knew the State didn't have the money. They were bills that they were passing and now we know. A lot of people don't realize a year ago during the last Legislature before the present administration, that Ted Welch, Winfield Dunn's Commissioner of Finance and Administration wrote a letter to the leadership of the Legislature and said if you don't stop some of this spending you are going to be in big trouble next year--meaning 1975--and you'll have to have additional revenue. But the Legislature started spending money like it was going out of style and Dunn started vetoing and they started overriding so where are we now. We are in desperate straits, and we were warned by the Dunn administration a year ago that this was going to happen. So I think for a novice and not a politician in four years

he came through in a great big way.

MR. BROWN: Oh, I think he did a remarkable job.

MR. DUKE: I think future records will probably put him in a brighter light than he appears right now to a lot of people up here.

DR. CRAWFORD: Let me ask another question now about the general election? Before that time the campaign had been sort of an amateur operation headquartered in Memphis, managed directly by Harry Wellford and utilizing the services of Ward Archer and Associates. Now after the primary elections the headquarters were moved to Nashville and you had a professional staff mainly coming down from Washington led by Lamar Alexander and Noble Dury did the advertising. What changes did you notice over here in dealing with the state headquarters?

MR. DUKE: I made a little reference to that earlier and as I said earlier maybe it was unique to Sullivan County or the First District, but our contact with the state headquarters during the primary election were pretty sparse and mostly in the form of requests and certain amount of guidance with very little real support. After the primary and into the general election it was obvious that there was more professionalism that was being injected in the campaign in terms of organization and expertise and it was also obvious that we were better funded than we had been because promotional material we paid for out of our own pockets and

now it was available to us for shipping charges and this type of thing. We were still responsible for a lot of same things we had been in the past, but we were also getting a whole lot of good support at that point that hadn't been available in the primary to us. That essentially was the main thing. Chains of command were established. In the past it hadn't been. In fact, in the primary a lot of my discussions back and forth were with Winfield himself. After the primary the commitments on his time were too precious for us to be dealing on those kind of terms. In fact, even Lamar's commitment on his time were such that Lamar and I didn't talk a heck of a lot. We were in contact at least once a week I'd say. There was usually somebody intermediate to that. The campaign took on an organized aspect to my mind, maybe not to the mind of some real astute politicians.

MR. BINKLEY: The news media could see a definite change.

We started getting releases regularly--well written releases--material that we could use. We started getting weekly schedules. In fact, I called Boots occasionally and said, "I noticed the man going to be up here next Thursday. What are you gonna . . .?" (Answer)"He is, I hadn't heard that."

MR. DUKE: Sometimes their mail would be delivered a day or a half a day before ours would.

Bink was keeping me posted.

MR. BINKLEY: What I meant was, it started rolling--

things started moving--and it began to look like a political campaign.

MR. DUKE: Well, they set quotas--budgetary quotas--for each county. They projected votes from each county what was going to be necessary and that type of thing. An awful lot of evidence of organization that hadn't been there in the primary.

MR. BINKLEY: Even down to projecting what vote they would get in the different counties. Do you remember that deal? I was skeptical about it. Ummm, this can't be done. But it was done.

DR. CRAWFORD: It did turn out that way.

MR. BINKLEY: Yes, it did! Do you remember, you not only had a quota for money, but you had quotas for votes.

MR. DUKE: Right, projections upon the vote and what we were going to have to shoot for in those areas. Then again, we got support from the party. Congressman Quillen was very apparent at all the things where Dunn was there. The party people got out and worked like dogs. They hauled people to voting stations.

MR. BROWN: Their precinct efforts were helpful too.

MR. DUKE: Yeah, they really came in and got the job done.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you feel that Winfield Dunn was getting a fair portion of the support in that campaign?

MR. DUKE: In the general election?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, from the party.

MR. DUKE: I think there was a fantastic amount of support at that point.

MR. BINKLEY: I do too.

MR. DUKE: In fact, there was just a real determined winning attitude. There were a few people who had hurt feelings. But that's going to happen anywhere and that was only on an individual basis really and not any organized thing. There were some people particularly the Jenkins people that maybe felt like: "We were on the short end of the stick again." Here was a West Tennessean and they were being asked to support him and work for him when they hadn't gotten their candidate in, but it was a very very small number. For the most part, they came around. I couldn't fault the party at all after the primary.

DR. CRAWFORD: Often in a campaign there is a change of personnel from a primary to a general election with additional personnel being brought in who had supported other candidates and some of the original supporters being dropped. Did that happen in Sullivan County or the First Congressional District?

MR. DUKE: Well, I can't speak for the whole First Con-

gressional District except some second hand knowledge that there were some problems there but for the most part I think the best way of saying that is that Winfield Dunn was extremely loyal to those people that supported him and if they maintained their commitment to him I think it would be generally true in the First Congressional District. If they wanted that responsibility and were willing to accept it, he was pretty strong about them having it. In our area--Sullivan County--there just didn't seem to be any real problem in that area.

MR. BINKLEY: Bob Smith is a good example. You know Bob Smith was the finance man for the opposition.

MR. DUKE: Strong on Maxie Jarman.

MR. BINKLEY: Strong for Jarman, but after the election he became First District Finance man for Dunn.

In other words, the attitude he took and a lot of people took is that the primary is over and let's elect this man. You may have had the same feeling on any nominee.

MR. DUKE: Dunn himself had a lot to do with that. He went around and kind of welcomed them in with open arms.

MR. BINKLEY: But I think Dunn's personality egged them on. I think they worked harder and I think they would have worked for Jarman, but they worked harder for Dunn than they would have, don't you think so Ben?

MR. BROWN: I think so. They definitely wanted to have a Republican in as governor to see what he could do for this section of the state.

MR. BINKLEY: This was a man that they could live with.

MR. BROWN: Yes, I mean he had already sold himself not only to the Republicans but there are an awful lot of independents in Sullivan County because they are moving in and out of here all the time because of the industry and they don't have any real strong commitments one way or the other when they move in.

MR. DUKE: So a lot of them made that breakover. We got a situation here where you've got people who call themselves "Quillen Democrats". So they are accustomed to breaking that party line. They may be a Democrat all the way down that line until it comes to the Congress and their congressional candidate is Jim Quillen and no bones about it. So they have broken over before. You could almost feel too the showing that was made by Winfield in Shelby County was kind of like a ninth inning rally on a baseball team. All of a sudden you realize that, "By golly that potential is there. We could actually win this thing!" I think in the primary a lot of people, and I wasn't one of them, didn't think we could win it.

When Dunn won that primary, and Memphis tied the knot down there, I think what Bink was talking about a minute ago was all of a

sudden East Tennessee started thinking, "If those guys are in camp with us, we just might be sitting in Nashville next time." I just have to equate it to a basketball team that came from behind and knotted the score with 10 seconds to go. You know all of a sudden they realized that they could win this thing with a little more effort. It was apparent that a lot of them were going to foot it out.

DR. CRAWFORD: What effect did this have on your finance raising?

MR. BROWN: What--in winning the primary?

DR. CRAWFORD: Uh-huh.

MR. BROWN: Oh! (Laughter) Like the difference between night and day. You even had people coming to you to make contributions.

MR. DUKE: We even had some people that, you know, had already hedged themselves on the Democratic side of the fence. . . .

MR. BINKLEY: I was going to say, you had some Democratic money. . . .

MR. DUKE: Who were interested in coming over and the odds were beginning to look pretty good on our side of the fence. They wanted to make sure that they made their entrenchment in our [side] pretty quick. We were real willing to accept it.

MR. BINKLEY: There are a few politicians in Sullivan
County when you start getting money from
them, you can start breathing a little bit easier because you know
pretty darn well. . .

MR. DUKE: They are reading the bookmaker. (Laughter)

MR. BROWN: I don't blame them.

MR. BINKLEY: That's what I say when you start playing
both sides you know you've got a pretty
good chance.

MR. BROWN: That's right or they wouldn't be doing that.

DR. CRAWFORD: But they want to wait for the general elec-
tion to do that to see if the outlook is good.

MR. BROWN: Sure.

MR. DUKE: Yes, well it's kinda improving your odds.
They are not willing to take that longshot, but
now when it gets 50/50 they are ready to roll.

MR. BROWN: It is real hard to raise money in a primary.

MR. BINKLEY: There's one thing that Winfield Dunn never
forgot--his early lessons in politics-- your
true friends are the people who support you in the primary. Or if you
have made one unsuccessful race prior to that, the people who supported
you the first time. I've seen that happen lots of times. They stay
with them and when you are elected, they are the people that you can
depend upon.

MR. DUKE: Well, I'd really have to say this in support of him. Of course, I am a fan and that wouldn't have to be re-emphasized, but Winfield Dunn was as loyal to his supporters as they were loyal to him.

MR. BINKLEY: That's right.

MR. DUKE: It was a common bond because I think everybody that I have met and known across the state and I was pretty involved with Dunn's administration even after the campaign, those people still held that strong commitment to him and that strong bond. It was because he hadn't let them down in any area really. I never felt disappointed or let down about the medical school. I felt like I had appraised my position as an East Tennessean and as a loyal supporter of Governor Dunn both probably a little closer than other people had. Ben had the same kind of feeling, but I never felt like the Governor did anything he did to spite East Tennessee or to disappoint the people in East Tennessee. I felt like everything he did was true to the things he set out when he initially started the campaign, and that was to be the best governor of Tennessee that he knew how to be. All over the state, that's the way good bonds are built I think. If you ever get the feeling that you are being let down or disillusioned or disappointed, it starts to deteriorate, but I don't think anybody that was ever close to Dunn felt that way about it.

MR. BINKLEY: Like we said before the tape was turned on,

Winfield Dunn went out of office troubled in East Tennessee and he is still in trouble in East Tennessee over three issues: The prison in Morristown, the medical schools and roads. Well, you can discount roads because people up here have been fussing about roads always. But roads, he fulfilled his promise on roads. People take that for granted and that is what he is supposed to do. I will venture to say that Morristown will still have a prison and the medical school will work out to where Dunn was smart and being cautious as waiting to see how--no one has yet said how much it is going to cost the taxpayers in Tennessee. That's what he was wanting to know. The federal government was going to spend a lot of money but just for seven years. Then it is ours. That's what he wanted to know and no one could answer. Because he wouldn't come out and say, "I will sign a blank check for it," he was said to be against it.

MR. BROWN: The only place where I can find any fault, if I can find any fault with his administration is in the handling of the prison site at Morristown.

MR. BINKLEY: Yes.

MR. BROWN: There were a lot of other counties. Sullivan County would have been happy to have had that prison.

MR. BINKLEY: Unicoi County wanted it.

MR. BROWN: Several of them would have. Quite obviously when they selected the Morristown site they

really had not laid the ground for it. They hadn't sold the people on the concept of it. The concept of a regional prison is much much better than the system that we have now.

MR. DUKE: Well, I was critical in that area too. I was close to the thing. I served on the Pardon and Parole Board for about two years. I felt like and I expressed it to Mark Luttrell and expressed it to the Governor on several occasions that it just plain wasn't handled right. I think the Governor in that case was guilty as I believe he was in several other instances of, (1) being possibly ill advised and, (2) taking the people for a little more research and intelligence normally than they give a subject. I believe an educational program should have been started if we were going to sell that prison.

I saw the conditions and I was in every penal institution in the state of Tennessee. I am firmly convinced as I am sure the Governor was of the need for the town correctional system they were establishing up here. But I think the average man off the street doesn't realize the conditions that exist in our present penal system. I don't think they realize what a regional correctional facility is and probably they shouldn't, but I think it was a case of taking people's nature a little too much for granted that they are tolerant for P.C. (prison correction) and that they are willing to learn and willing to look at the right in something rather than be exposed to the wrong in it. I think that's where we fell short on the thing.

DR. CRAWFORD: Before we get too much into what happened while he was governor, let me ask a question or two about primary--but go ahead Mr. Binkley.

MR. BINKLEY: I wasn't going to say anything, I was just stretching.

DR. CRAWFORD: All right. In completing the general election campaign, did you come out in the black on that one?

MR. DUKE: Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you have a rough figure for what you spent?

MR. DUKE: No, I really should have probably have brought my files with me because I have maintained those because they mean something to me individually and personally. But I didn't bring them. I know that we did meet and exceed the quota that was established for us up here both in terms of financial support and in terms of votes offered. I really can't remember what those figures were.

DR. CRAWFORD: On election night where were all of you? November?

MR. DUKE: Let's see. Most of you all were at my house about 11 o'clock.

MR. BINKLEY: Not till late, I was working. I was at Booneville at the county seat getting votes and at the office writing stories on cloud nine.

MR. DUKE: We moved around. We were at my house and then we were at Quillen headquarters and some went by the Congressman's house. Everybody was in pretty good spirits. There was a lot of visiting around. I don't believe anybody went to Nashville, did they? I had an opportunity to go.

MR. BINKLEY: Did you, Boots, go to Nashville?

MR. DUKE: I went the following day.

MR. BINKLEY: I thought Frank and they went down there that night.

MR. BROWN: Frank may have gone.

MR. DUKE: If he did, he don't remember.

MR. BINKLEY: I know I had some people ask me to go, but I couldn't go. I don't remember who it was.

MR. BROWN: I sort of believe if you are involved in a campaign and have a lot of people working with you on a campaign that you really should be in vicinity of the people who have done all the work on election night.

MR. BINKLEY: Absolutely to be with them and share it with them.

MR. BROWN: I don't remember where I was, but I was in town.

MR. DUKE: You left the house late. I don't remember checking what time, because I remember Dan was there too.

MR. BROWN: I always have an election party at my
 house on the nights of elections. I guess
I must have had one, I don't remember. You just circulate around.

THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY. THIS PROJECT IS "AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN CAMPAIGN AND ADMINISTRATION." THE DATE IS JULY 15, 1975 AND THE PLACE IS KINGS-PORT, TENNESSEE. THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. ELLIS BINKLEY AND MR. C. B. DUKE, IV AND MR. BEN BROWN. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY BETTY WILLIAMS. INTERVIEW # III.

DR. CRAWFORD: Let's proceed to the administration of
Governor Winfield Dunn after the general election. Let's deal if we can at the beginning with what specific contact each of you three interviewees had with him at that time.

MR. BINKLEY: Well actually you just couldn't see the man
right after the election because after they set up their office for the transition, Lamar was there and it was sort of difficult to see Winfield. At least for the press a few days there before they got set up. But mostly as far as we were concerned, we were interested in the new cabinet members and things like that. My relation then was purely professional of getting cabinet members and state appointments and things like that. Actually, I don't suppose I really saw the Governor and Mrs. Dunn until the inauguration and thereafter.

MR. DUKE: I guess my first contact after that was--the
election was on a Tuesday--Thursday afternoon,

I can't remember who the individual was, I believe it was Carolyn Weins called me on that Thursday and asked me if I could be in the Governor's temporary office in an old senate office building on the following Tuesday morning I believe. It might have been a Monday morning but I believe it was Tuesday.

I flew down and met with him on that Tuesday morning. He took off on a short vacation right after the election was over and was gone until Saturday night or maybe Sunday morning, but came back over the weekend and I met with him right immediately after he got back. We had a real friendly meeting and then it turned into a work session. He shuttled me off with Robin Beard shortly thereafter and Robin and I started some preliminary discussions about the inaugural festivities, that night and everything. During the course of that day, Dorch Oldham, I don't remember how it came about, but we got hold of Dorch and got him involved in that inaugural thing. So I had, I would feel like, an extremely close contact with him shortly after the election. Very shortly thereafter I got, I guess it was in April, we were there for the inaugural events and all that but I got real involved again in March when I agreed to accept an appointment to that Pardon and Parole Board. That could have even been in February. I don't know for sure when it was.

That met for almost two years, I was in Nashville weekly usually two days a week so we had, I felt like a good close rapport. I was close to the administration and saw him frequently and dealt with the staff an awful lot. I knew them pretty well and had a high de-

gree of respect for those people.

MR. BINKLEY: I did get a call from him a day or two after the election. I forgot about that just thanking me. But I had been trying to call him too so I don't know if he were calling me or answering my call but anyway I was tickled to death, I mean the fact that the election was over and he was saying "thank you". I didn't do anything, but as long as he thought I did it was fine. During that whole administration I was covering the Legislature and it was funny to hear (Maybe I'd better not mention Legislators names) but to hear some of the Democrats in the evening at the various watering places giving Winfield Dunn calling him Winshield Dunn, Winshield Dunn, and sort of making snide remarks about him. The next day when time came for him to push that button on one of his bills, they would vote for it. In other words those Democrats felt like they had to say something about him, but I had seen some Democratic leaders work for some of the administration bills. In fact, I saw Winfield Dunn sacrifice a floor leader on a bill that he wanted to pass. The next man was going to fight it and he did fight it and he resigned as floor leader. Dunn accepted his resignation. It was on a strip mining bill. You remember that.

MR. DUKE: Uh-huh.

MR. BINKLEY: You were in and out of Nashville a whole lot too with some of your pet projects, Ben.

MR. BROWN: Well, I saw him, I did get a telephone call which I appreciated very much after the elec-

tion. I, like you, didn't see him until the inauguration. I don't know whether I should inject my sad story about the inauguration in here or not. I got down there to Nashville and got ready for the Gala and I had left all of my clothes in Kingsport, [Mr. Binkley: Oh my! (Laughter)] except what I had on my back. I didn't have my tux--I had the tux shirt and everything--so I called Boot's parents and asked them whether I could go to dinner with them because they weren't planning on going to the Gala and fortunately Boots had brought two sets of tux. While he is a good deal taller than I am, I managed to get his tux on and had them way up to my chest practically and went to the Gala and I don't guess anybody knew the difference. (Laughter) You talk about a dejected individual, I was sitting in the room and everybody else was going to the Gala and I was going to stay home because I didn't have anything to wear.

MR. BINKLEY: I saw you coming out of the hotel in that tux and I said, "My goodness, what happened!"

(Laughter)

MR. BROWN: My main association with the Governor during the administration was working through Boots and in communications direct to him or through Ralph Griffith who I had worked with a long time ago in a congressional campaign up here and so Ralph was main contact on the staff.

MR. BINKLEY: Of course, during that administration there was some sad things. I'll blame Ralph for

it. I can do it on tape since I have done it to his face for those pictures. The paste up pictures [Mr. Brown: That was most unfortunate.] That was crude. Then on the handling of the Morristown thing and I am not going to criticize him for the medical school cause I still think fundamentally he is right there. But take the four years in general, what impressed me mostly. There was no hint anywhere of any graft or any hanky-panky. If history can say nothing else for the Dunn administration, it can say it was an honest administration.

MR. DUKE: That's exactly my impression all the way through. I considered myself fortunate enough to have sat in on a lot of staff conferences where patronage was discussed and key issues for the administration were discussed. The thing that was obvious by its absence was any hint really, I would have to say any hint, of anything that was underhanded, dishonest or lacked the stamp of Dunn's personal integrity. I felt that way about the medical school thing. When I accepted the appointment to that Pardon and Parole Board, the Governor's expression there to that Pardon and Parole Board was that he wanted it to be the most honest and above-board thing that he had ever had. He was appointing us not for abilities but basically because he felt like that we understood how he felt about it. I think it carried through to everybody on it. Bob James, Barney Regen and Sarah Moore Greene and Les Vantrease who was a Democrat. I think the Governor was concerned about one thing as far as that board

was concerned and that was that they be totally honest in their dealings. It followed through in about everything.

The other thing that is in the same vein and was the mark of his administration was the fact that he didn't let his own people down in spite of suffering some from it himself on a lot of occasions. He stuck by his own people and by his convictions even to the point of hurting himself politically on occasion. I tried to avoid that from a patronage standpoint the small way I could, but there were vendettas in East Tennessee like there were everywhere else. They wanted to can people without any regard to their ability to do the job, but purely and simply because they were Democrats. Ben knows a lot about that because he was involved too. Things just weren't done that way as far as we saw. We weren't exposed to everything, but what we saw was indicative of the overall performance.

There were bona-fide Republicans in that group. By the same token it wasn't a kind of thing where it was vindictive because a person had a past history of being a Democrat. There weren't these kind of undercurrents--that we'll do this because we are in power. The overriding criteria for everything seemed to be: Is it the best thing that can be done for the state and if it is, how are we going to accomplish it. I think that probably in one word would mark closer his administration and his concept of the office of governor and the power that he had.

DR. CRAWFORD: Your vantage point was that of chairman of

the Sullivan County Patronage Committee, I believe, Mr. Duke?

MR. DUKE: Yes sir. I got a little more involved by being in Nashville so much. Dale, Ralph Griffith--a lot of the people on the staff, Chip Christianson--those people became real close friends. Socially, when I was there in Nashville, I spent most of my time with them. They all had that same feeling: "How was the Governor going to react to this or that decision?" In every case there wasn't any question in their minds if it was straight-forward, and honest and square-shooting, it was going to be good, but if it wasn't, he'd better not know about it. The people that stayed with him were that same bent for the most part.

MR. BROWN: Leaving the make-up of the patronage committee here in Sullivan County involved all elements of the party.

MR. DUKE: That's right.

MR. BROWN: It was a very definite representative view of the Republican party in the county. However, I will emphasize what you said, "If a person was capable of doing a job, he wasn't removed from the office just because he was a Democrat."

MR. DUKE: That's right.

MR. BROWN: That was emphasized.

MR. DUKE: Well, you know a little thing that I think is kind of indicative and I don't know if it was

the same way all over the state but it was handled that way up here: We had summer jobs that were at Warrior's Path State Park and the way those jobs were handled under the Dunn administration was that strictly and totally based on first-come and first-served basis as long as their personal integrity and the qualities that you normally look for were all right. If the individual had some definite stigmas that would make him not represent the state well, even if it was sickling weeds or acting as lifeguards in a state park, then they wanted local input so far as that was concerned. But they didn't hire so and so's son because he holds a certain office in a certain precinct. They left it entirely to the local discretion and the instructions we got were: "We don't want anybody there that will serve to embarrass the state of Tennessee or the Governor." It didn't say anything about party and I thought that was pretty good, because we were dealing with young people there. Most of them that were there needed work because they were attending college and that type of thing, and I think the attitude was kind of that they deserved the same fair circumstances that anybody else did regardless of party.

DR. CRAWFORD: How large was the patronage committee in Sullivan County?

MR. DUKE: It was initially set at seven, but I think we really had six that were generally considered active. We had one resignation that we did not find a replacement for. Normally our meetings would consist of four or five. Considering the way we were spread out, it was understandable.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who made the selection of members?

MR. DUKE: I can't say who made the final selection. I was asked to submit certain names and I did. The total final selection wasn't exactly according to that list. But I'll say this--that everybody that was on the patronage committee had been included on the list, but my list was a lot larger than the committee developed into.

DR. CRAWFORD: With whom did you coordinate with in Nashville? Did you work with Joe Hopper or Chip Christian-son?

MR. DUKE: I worked with a lot of different ones. Freddy Friend, of course, in his office and initially an awful lot of work with Robin Beard direct. Joe Hopper was involved. Dale Young, I coordinated with him quite a bit and in the later stages Chip, then Jane Hardaway when she succeeded Robin Beard, and Ann Tuck were people we coordinated with frequently. I'm trying to think of (it really embarrasses me that the name slips my mind), the fellow who had Dale's job prior to Dale succeeding him in that office--Frank Barnett. Frank at first was administrative exec. for the Governor and then he resigned and Dale took his place and we dealt with about all of them. You know, being realistic, in an awful lot of cases, you don't deal directly with those people but you deal with a representative of their office. For instance Frances Dodds and Ben Fletcher out of Joe Hopper's office. We were on the phone, I would almost say daily between some of those people. Norma Jones in Personnel. I probably

talked to Norma 200 times in the 365 days of each year.

MR. BINKLEY: I'd like to inject this strictly from a professional standpoint. As a senior member of the Capitol Hill Press Corps I was sort of impressed by the reaction that the Press Corps had to Dunn. Now what really started off on the right step was a little thing that people have forgotten although it was mentioned earlier. You know when he said when he was elected governor that the first thing he was going to do was change those "Welcome to the Three States " [sign] when he literally went to the Kentucky state line and it was changed. The reaction before that was: "Okay, so what? He said he was going to change them. He may change them when the time comes for them to be repainted or something like that." But here was a man who said this is the first thing that I am going to do and this is the first thing that he did. Then at Press Conferences there were reporters there who were purely to needle him and they couldn't needle him. I mean they would ask him a loaded question and he would answer them and if he didn't know the answer he'd say, "I don't know, but I'll find out. If you'll come to my office tomorrow, I'll give you the answer." But very few of them would go back tomorrow.

MR. DUKE: You know we heard a lot of criticism up here and I know Ellis and Ben understand it, but it's hard for a lot of people to understand the number of commitments to a man's time. The thing that Ellis mentioned is he made his point to try to get back to people on issues that particularly concerned him.

They didn't always do it and I think East Tennessee at first felt like Winfield Dunn was their governor. He was up here by actual count more times in the first three months he was in office than our former governor who had been in 4 years. Yet people in East Tennessee felt like we elected and we hadn't ever seen him. I don't know if it was partly a fascination for him or partly an unwillingness to accept commitments on his time. The criticisms that you heard early were that: "I wrote him a letter and that he hadn't answered right away." Or, that "We elected him and he hadn't been here."

I believe by comparison and I really can't speak for past administrations, but I think if you really compared it, he took a real conscientious approach to those kind of things--getting up here, getting to other parts of the state as well, and rather than punching out a form letter, he usually tried to take the time to assign somebody to that particular interest and make sure it was something when they got it, it wasn't just a piece of correspondence. Some of those criticisms were, I felt, were really not justified. The people that were wise realized it.

MR. BINKLEY: I think what happened to the criticism that you couldn't see him. You had that complaint one time. Do you remember that one time, Ben, that you couldn't get in to see him? We were talking about it earlier that he didn't have access to the expertise in selecting his staff. People who didn't know after fifty years it takes a long--you can't find experienced people!

I think some of his staff were overprotective to begin with. I think they were keeping people away from him when actually he would have liked to have seen them. Later, it corrected itself, but at first you just couldn't see the man. I don't know about Boots, but I know Ben and myself, if we wanted to see the Governor in a hurry I would go to Ralph Griffith.

MR. DUKE: I never really had a problem.

MR. BINKLEY: Well, you wouldn't because you were in a different position.

MR. DUKE: We had that complaint. I know it came from people that should have had better access, but it goes back to the same old thing just like the campaign. There were people there that didn't have any experience in handling the office of governor. They didn't know. They worked as hard as they knew how, but not always with the background of knowledge that they should have had. The Governor is, of course, the guy where the buck stops as the statement goes. He was the one that fell subject to the criticism. Sometimes he didn't even know that there had been an attempt to contact him.

MR. BROWN: If you walked in unannounced, the girl in the outer office may or may not know you, as busy as he was, she would say, "He's tied up." Although it is rather amusing the last day that he was in office. Now this is the situation of walking in unannounced. I went in the outer office and I was just going to go in and say "hello" to him and that was all. The girl at

the desk--she was a new girl--she said that the Governor was tied up and would be tied up for some time. Well, Lee Smith happened to walk through the office at the same time--the outer office--and recognized me standing there so I went right in and spoke to him and got right out and that was it. But that's going to be true under any circumstances. Every person in the United States has difficulty with super punctual secretaries.

MR. DUKE: Sometimes an individual all they want to do is say "hello" and shake hands. Sometimes a guy wants to present one side of an issue and it is going to take him an hour. Those girls don't know how to sort those things out.

MR. BINKLEY: I hate to bring this up at this time and in this particular way, but an illustration and a comparison of what experience can do with no experience. When Annabelle Clement was on that front desk during Buford Ellington's campaign, anyone could go in there and they could get to see the Governor within an hour at least because she knew she could have a little time where, like Ben says, go in and shake hands and say, "Hidee" slip them in and slip them out. She had been on that desk so long that she knew how to do it. When you take, you can hardly get a dental appointment sometime because an inexperienced person all they know to do is go by the book.

MR. DUKE: Well, you know if you remember, Governor Dunn was at fault there too. It was a thing I think that was his best point, but it was also his fault. If he

was interested in an individual, it was pure h--- trying to get him to the next appointment.

MR. BINKLEY: That was truth! (Laughter)

MR. DUKE: He was not going to walk off and leave that guy in mid-sentence and be that discourteous to an individual and some of the hardest times I've ever seen anybody have in my life was when Chip Christianson was trying to keep him on a schedule. I saw Chip stand out here at a bridge on the other side of Boone Creek with tears in his eyes because the Governor was an hour late and he wouldn't leave the people who wanted to shake hands with him. And Chip said, "It's my responsibility. I've got to get him there and I've told him and I can't get him to leave." He literally had tears in his eyes about that situation.

MR. BINKLEY: Of course, that was after Chip learned the difference between eastern daytime and daytime western. (Laughter)

MR. DUKE: That was kind of a hang-up. (Laughter)

MR. BINKLEY: It took him a long time to learn there was an hour's difference.

MR. DUKE: But you know all those aside, the Governor had a terrific rapport with people after he was in office. I heard people say a number of times, "I'm not going to vote for him at the end of his term." Not even being aware that he wasn't running again at the end of his term. Maybe four years later, sure. I think it was just humanness. I remember two instances real well.

One involved my daughter. I had taken her down there to see Turney Center and be exposed to the problems that existed in that system. I wanted her to be down there to see the Senate and see the Legislature in action one day and visit the Capitol and Governor Dunn had been gracious enough to see that somebody escorted her around. So while I was busy, they did that.

He had Minnie Pearl in his office with some other personalities and dignitaries. They were making some pictures. He saw Cindy in the hall and recognized her and he hadn't seen her since I don't know when. He'd seen her on several occasions and he did recognize her. Instead of saying, "Cindy, would you like to have your picture made with me?" He said, "Cindy, come in here. I'd like to have my picture made with you, and I've got a photographer right here." It's that kind of little turnaround that separates the big guy from the small guy in my mind.

MR. BINKLEY: That's right.

MR. DUKE: As it turned out, that was on a Tuesday, and on a following Tuesday she had a pretty serious accident and was in the hospital. One of the girls in the office called me about something and they told her that I was at the hospital with my daughter. You know, that guy (the Governor) called that night I don't guess I'll ever forget that--the impression it made on me. About two days later I got a card signed by everybody down there. That's a big guy!

DR. CRAWFORD: Our time is getting short from what we have al-

lotted here. Let's try to check around and see the major things we have left out concerning his administration. What best illustrates the kind of governor he was? For the issues, we'll get the facts. That's not the problem. What do you think of him as a leader and how he dealt with things? What best illustrates it?

MR. BINKLEY: To me, and I have said this in this interview before, the way a governor gets along with the Legislature to me is one of the most important aspects of any administration. If you cannot get along with the Legislature, that's where your money comes from. You might as well forget any programs. Just like I said before, you can promise the world with a red ribbon tied around it, but if the Legislature doesn't give you the money to do it you might as well forget it. This man was smart enough. You remember this was a Democratic controlled legislature theoretically should hate this man intensely, this Republican--this first Republican in fifty years who has been in that office. But when time would come for his programs simply because he gave the Legislature an intelligent practical program which they could carry out with no wild dreams or anything like that.

The kindergarten program made sense. Technical schools made sense and they realized it. Of course, they took the technical schools and turned it around and made it their issue, but at the same time, it started downstairs on the second floor.

DR. CRAWFORD: You've covered politics in the state a long time,

I believe Mr. Binkley. Do you feel that the Legislature generally whether they agreed with him or were in his party or not respected him?

MR. BINKLEY: Absolutely! Like I said earlier when these Legislators in the evening were out having a few drinks and so forth, they would make snide remarks, but they were joking, because I don't care how much people laugh at me, but when it gets down to the knitty-gritty of punching that red button to let that green light come on the roll call board. That's what counts. They had to put up a front. I mean, Ned McWherter and Jim McKinney--those boys couldn't take him in to them--I mean they'd been read out of the party if they had. But time came for the vote they were there.

DR. CRAWFORD: The Press Corps is known to be hard to fool. How did they feel about him in general by the time his administration was over.

MR. BINKLEY: They respected him because there are certain people in the Press Corp who are not happy unless they can needle someone. They do it deliberately; some of them do it because their publishers want to do it. I have never seen Winfield Dunn [mad] but one time during a Press Conference. He was justified getting mad that day.

DR. CRAWFORD: What was the occasion?

MR. BINKLEY: It was something about the prison and I forget what it was. I don't remember the details.

All I remember was those lips got thin and he got a little bit white

and he hesitated a moment and then answered the question. You could tell for a second he was a little bit upset but not often. I have heard people put questions to him that I would have picked a chair and thrown it at them almost. Insulting questions!

MR. DUKE: You asked what mark typifies the administration.

 I think the thing to me that kind of summarizes that have been said on my part as well as some of the others, the thing that typified him to me was that he felt like--I believe this sincerely from dealing with him--that if he took an honest approach based on the best advice that was available to him and he regarded it in the best interest of the state and he followed that course, that the people were eventually going to understand it. If they didn't understand and appreciate it today, that they would realize at some later date that he had done what he had to do. I think if he got into trouble in certain areas, it was by following that kind of conviction. I think he had a lot more faith in people than maybe the people merited at that point. He had a feeling that something that was right, based on his own integrity, was going to prove itself out in the end. I think that's how he got into trouble on the prison and that's how he got into trouble in the medical school. I felt like he felt like the facts would bear him out in the future.

 He knew the situation of the prison and it concerned him a lot. I've heard him say a lot of times, "How do the people up there feel about that now?" "What's their mood now about a particular issue at this point." But he had a lot of confidence in people to get to the

root of the issue.

MR. BINKLEY: I've had him call me toward the last of his administration. He'd be joking and say, "I think I'm coming up there next week, is it safe?" (Laughter) You know, because he knew the feeling was there.

MR. BROWN: Nevertheless, he came.

MR. DUKE: He did! He said to me one time, "I don't know if you can afford me as a friend." But he thought about those kind of things. It bothered him some. I was convinced that he always felt like he was trying to do what was right and if he were right and well advised, that thing would work out in the end. He was totally convinced all the way through this medical school thing that the real issue was more doctors up here. There was a side issue that some of us tried to impress on him that it was a medical school and also another business unit in the community. Your Chamber of Commerce goes out to recruit that type of thing. It had gotten to be a hard issue on that count as well as the doctor thing.

I think he saw the issue of a need for doctors as number one and he knew the program he was endorsing and recommending would come closest to solving that the quickest. He felt like all he had to do was get that thing operative and people would see it. The same thing on the regional prison. Mark Luttrell said on several occasions, said, "When it gets in and people see what it is, they realize it is all right." That's not always easily done as it sounds.

MR. BINKLEY: This is a typical Dunn thing. When feeling got

so intense over the medical school, he flew into Tri-City Airport and had a press conference--not upstairs in the conference room where we usually have them but downstairs in the open for everyone to be there. He explained his stand on the medical school, an intelligent stand, but people stood out there and listened to him with closed ears. They didn't want to hear that. All they wanted to hear Winfield Dunn say, "I'm for it." But Winfield Dunn was not going to say it till he knew where the money was coming from and what it would do. He was thinking about--not the people in Washington County or Johnson City or upper East Tennessee--he was thinking about the people from there to Memphis--the whole state.

MR. DUKE: He was convinced that the common sense of the issue along with the faith that he had in the people when it was adequately explained would be enough to do the job.

MR BINKLEY: That's right, but the people wouldn't listen. They didn't want to hear.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, Mr. Brown, how do you see this matter of leadership? Do you think of anything special that illustrates it?

MR. BROWN: Well, I think the medical school issue itself proved that Winfield Dunn was a man of his convictions. That he made decisions not based on a political motive. The popular thing would have been for him to say, "Yes, you can have a medical school up here and I am all for it". But he looked at it from the state as a whole. The other thing that impressed me and I have seen

this on several occasions is that he was not a man that dominated the conversation. He was willing to listen to what somebody had to say to him. He would listen as long as they expressed themselves. True, in every case he couldn't fulfill their desires, but he certainly listened to it and had an open mind. I think that is the reason that he was as successful as he was. As it has been pointed out, his dealings with the Democratic Legislature and the Democratic leadership, he didn't shut the door to them and say "This is strictly a Republican deal". He worked with them and that is the reason he was successful.

MR. DUKE: Along the same line of what Ben said on this medical school issue, I know Ben and I talked about it a lot because we were kind of in a hot bed of that mood and that feeling. People advised Dunn that the appropriate political step to take would be to sideline himself. Because I think it was pretty apparent to everybody that this thing wasn't going to come to fruition in his term of office--that it just wasn't his makeup to. . .

MR. BINKLEY: After all he wasn't a lame-duck governor.

MR. DUKE: That's right. It just wasn't in his makeup to mislead the public. He had too much faith back to that same old thing. He had an awful lot of faith in the general public.

DR. CRAWFORD: So far you all three have been generally complimentary. If you had to pick a major specific fault or error of the Dunn Administration, what would it be?

MR. BINKLEY: My biggest criticism would be not necessarily

the cabinet, but his kitchen cabinet--the staff he had working with him who as we said earlier, were amateurs. Who on occasions gave him some bad advice. I believe that was the biggest trouble in the Dunn administration--the lack of experience and lack of know-how. They got him into trouble several times, but he came out of it most of the time.

DR. CRAWFORD: For example, what were some of the occasions?

MR. BINKLEY: Well, like we said, in East Tennessee the medical school and the prison are the predominant features. The other things that he's been--offhand those are the closest things to me. Four years later it is awful hard to remember all of the 4-years. You may recall some of them.

MR. BROWN: Eleven-W too was an example. I think that the Governor at the end of his term realized that once the Interstate was open that it would relieve 11-W of a tremendous amount of traffic and it has. By the same token he had committed himself to widen that road into areas that were going to be serving industries and going to be helpful. That has been carried out and was done. There was a big political issue that was created up here by one of the members of the Legislature--in fact, more than one, several--where they wanted to widen 11-W all the way to Knoxville. The Governor indicated that that was not possible. He was I think right in his decision. That had been proved.

MR. BINKLEY: A member of his own party at that!

MR. BROWN: Oh yes, it became an emotional thing! The medi-

cal school was an emotional thing. Certainly the prison in Morristown was an emotional thing.

MR. BINKLEY: And a dangerous thing. Somebody is going to get killed over that!

MR. BROWN: Somehow East Tennesseans seem to have reacted in a big way emotionally.

DR. CRAWFORD: Is it possible that he underestimated the capacity of people to react emotionally and irrationally and believed too much in people being reasonable?

MR. DUKE: That's what I said. I think the Governor had an unending faith in the ability of people when confronted with reason to assess the situation for themselves and arrive at the right conclusion. When you talk about what glaring fault did he have, I think you have to decide in what area. As a politician he had a glaring fault because he was not a politician in the true sense of the word. As a man and as an individual, I think he was without peer. We've come through a situation with Watergate where people have really said they were disenchanted with politics. They don't trust the political system--that it spawns dishonesty and is ineffective. I sat through 3 or 4 years of Dunn's administration and I saw what I consider to be and what I supposed to be a totally honest administration and yet the people really and truly didn't want that. They showed on numerous occasions that they wanted something different from what it had been in the past, but they wanted it shaded in their direction.

"We've put up with 60 years or however you want to count it, of a

Democratic system. It's our turn now, we are going to slice the pie the way we want to slice it." The same people that said, they'd been doing it in a dishonest fashion in the past. They didn't want that, but what they did want is to replace the guy that couldn't do the job with an incompetent brother-in-law who was their brother-in-law. So I think, when you say did he have a fault, you got to ask yourself what the people want in terms of a governor. Do you want a guy that is going to tell them the way he thinks honestly and what he thinks is best for the state without regard to his political future or is he willing to tell them what he thinks they would most like to hear and then try to compromise his way down the road somewhere and appease himself with West Tennessee if he's made a strong commitment up here?

I think his biggest fault politically would have been his lack of political awareness [MR. BINKLEY: Uh-huh.] which probably by the same token was his big asset as a humanitarian and individual and a man.

MR. BROWN: It goes back to the fact that he was not going to compromise his convictions and what he felt was right for political result.

MR. DUKE: He could have side-stepped that medical issue so easy. Politically astute people who are a lot more knowledgeable about politics than I am, told him to side-step that issue and it would have been easy to side-step for 4 years because it is a time consuming thing.

MR. BINKLEY: I've been thinking that maybe there were times when these inexperienced people particularly in

the cabinet were good because they didn't know all the little tricks and so forth. I said a while ago it was an honest administration. I did happen to think of one little taint on the administration and it had to do with state employees padding their expense accounts. I expect Boots had that and expect Ben has had that and I expect everybody has had. . . . And if that is all you can find fault with an administration when it comes to dishonesty, of people padding expense accounts, you might say, who hasn't? That's the only thing that I can think of.

MR. DUKE: I think that he showed a basic integrity with the question of the Lear jet kind of proves itself out. He was very specific about outlining the uses for that jet. If it were something other than pure state business, boy, it went down on somebody else's book. There was a lot of criticism about that jet, but the records are out now to indicate that he used it for this. This administration has and there were no personal involvements with that.

MR. BINKLEY: Winfield Dunn said, "The first thing I am going to do when I'm Governor, I am going to change the signs." And he changed them. Ray Blanton said, "The first thing I am going to do is sell the Lear jet." We still have it, and this is July. (1975) With the price tag of \$700,000 on it and I was talking to a man the other day who is in charge of selling it. He says, "Who is going to be stupid enough to pay \$700,000 for it. In fact, we are getting ready to spend some money on improving it!"

MR. BROWN: Maybe that's the reason he is going to Arabia.

MR. BINKLEY: He's going to Arabia in a Lear jet because

that's the fastest and most economical way to go.

MR. BROWN: But you know the comforting thing about it now-- 6 months after he has gone out of office--is people are beginning to come around now in this area and say, "Well, he wasn't such a bad governor after all".

MR. DUKE: You are exactly right!

MR. BROWN: And it really makes you feel good!

MR. DUKE: And we were looking 4 years up the road, and I think when you compare the slates, you stack them up and tally them up, I think he's going to look like a lot better governor than maybe a lot of people in East Tennessee are saying he was.

MR. BINKLEY: He's going to look like Buford Ellington his second term when he ran for the second time.

DR. CRAWFORD: Our time is running short, is there anything specific that you believe would contribute to a historical understanding of the Winfield Dunn administration that you would like to get on the record?

MR. DUKE: The only comment I would have would be on the lines of what I've said before. What people really aspire to in government, and I've heard it said before and I believe Ben Franklin said it, "People get what they deserve". People are prone to be awful critical. I know Ben, Ellis and all have been exposed to it, not anybody in office or anybody that aspires to office. But when you get down to the number of people that vote, the people

who are really willing to get involved, work on a campaign even make a contribution to a campaign, which is a lot easier than working, you get down to a pretty small minority of the population. I think in Winfield Dunn's case it was a unique combination of enthusiasm, backed by a man of integrity. I think there are some people frankly, that are sad right now--that's not really what we meant about the governor. We expect it to be dishonest, but we expect it to be dishonest in our favor. That's a sad testimonial to the American public as far as I am concerned. If we really want to refute something like Watergate, I think we've got to go around the bend and back the guy that shows us--black and white--that something is not beneficial to us or that we can't afford it. It's like your family budget. If you can't afford a Lincoln Continental, it's best not to sign up for the payment plan. I'm not sure that the average taxpayer is willing to accept that kind of advice from anybody particularly somebody that they feel like they had a hand in electing.

MR. BINKLEY: It's like some of what Boots said. During those four years the people of Tennessee had a good state government and honest state government. Whether they appreciate it or not whether they realize it or not, it was still there. I think history, like we said earlier, that in years to come Winfield Dunn will be like Harry Truman. When Harry Truman went out of office people were laughing at him. Today Harry Truman is gaining in stature every day. I think Winfield Dunn as history goes on will go down as Tennessee history's great governors. I sincerely believe that along with Austin

Peay and some of the others.

MR. BROWN: Oh, I still believe that anybody who had the privilege of coming in contact with the Governor or his wife had a good taste left in their mouth. I think that the dedication of the people who supported him will continue in existence because of the performance that he made as governor.

MR. BINKLEY: He liked his job and anybody who likes their job is going to do a good job at it.

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you very much.



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